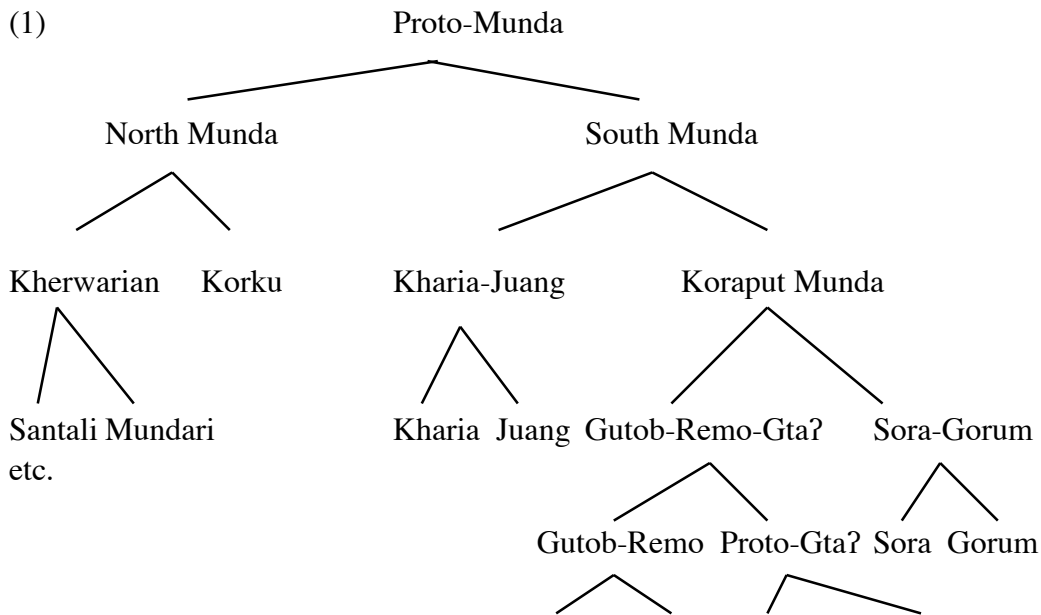


A New Classification of South Munda: Evidence from Comparative Verb Morphology

Gregory D. S. Anderson
University of Manchester

1 Introduction

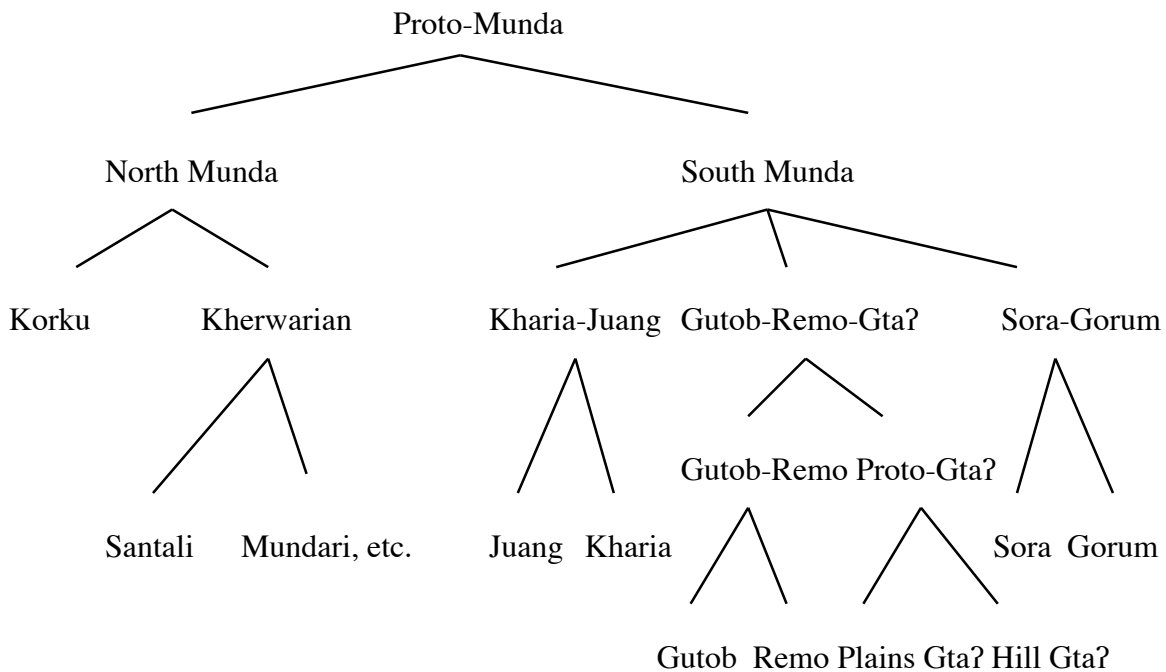
Traditional classifications of the South Mundaⁱ languages, e. g. Zide & Stampe (1964) or Bhattacharya (1975), consider there to have been a split of the Proto-South Munda into two daughter languages, Proto-Kharia-Juang [KJ] and Proto-Koraput Munda [KM], this latter language at some later point splitting into two daughter languages Proto-Sora-Gorum [SG] and Proto-Gutob-Remo-Gta? [GRG]; see (1). As a clearer picture of Proto-South Munda verb morphology has to begun to emerge (see, for example, Zide and Anderson 1999), it has become apparent that the traditional classification of South Munda cannot be maintained. Specifically, during the course of their development from the Proto-South Munda ancestor language, there are no innovations (or, for that matter, archaisms) specific to the GRG and SG subgroups alone to the exclusion of KJ, as would be expected given the ostensible existence of a Koraput Munda subgroup. Thus, it seems clear that Koraput Munda never existed as a real language used by real speech communities at any point in history, but rather represents a later areal grouping of these Munda languages, characterized by the presence of certain more recent areal phonological and lexical commonalities, diffused from one language into another, or possibly from a third party. As is well known, certain phonological features and lexical elements are easily transferred from one speech community to another even with relatively casual levels of contact between the groups (or at least without universal bilingualism), while shared (apparent) innovations in morphosyntax are far less likely to be diffused, and require long-term intimate contact between different ethnolinguistic groups (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988).



Gutob Remo Plains Gta? Hill Gta?

The traditional classification of the South Munda languages in (1) was replaced with the revised traditional classification in (2) (Anderson 1999), where SM split directly into its three daughter groups Proto-KJ, Proto-GRG, and Proto-SG.

(2) Revised Traditional Classification of Munda (Anderson 1999)



Proto-South Munda [SM] had a morphologically complex verb. With respect to the verbal actants or arguments, the Proto-SM verb indexed the person and number of both the subject and object. Also, a two-way opposition of past tenses, used with transitive and intransitive verb stems, can be safely reconstructed for Proto-SM. A non-past affix, possibly also differentiated for transitivity, was another part of Proto-SM verb morphology. In addition, at least one NEG prefix seems to have been used in Proto-SM. These features are examined in sections 2-4 below. Note that Proto-SM had a number of other features as well, for example various modal markers (e.g. [intransitive] imperative), a certain degree of noun-incorporation with combining forms of nouns, various voice affixes (reciprocal, causative), two negative markers, and possibly certain aspectual affixes as well (perfect[ive] or anterior). These lie beyond the scope of the present study.

While morphologically complex like most languages of the Indian subcontinent, the Proto-South Munda verb had a decidedly non-South Asian look. However, certain of the features of individual South Munda languages are later developments, and reflect various South Asian areal features, for example, the use of various non-finite markers (e.g. the Kharia *-na* infinitive),

the relatively elaborate system of calqued (or borrowed) auxiliary verb stems, or the shift to SOV syntax in all SM languages.ⁱⁱ

2 Referent Indexing

Proto-South Munda marked the person and number features of their subjects and objects within the verbal word. Subjects were marked by a set of prefixes, objects on the other hand, by a set of suffixes.

2.1 Subject Marking

First and second person subjects were marked by a set of prefixal agreement markers in Proto-South Munda, with third person singular unmarked, and third plural marked by the all-purpose plural suffix, also found with nominals. Three South Munda languages have preserved the system of first and second person prefixal subject agreement, viz. Juang, Gorum, and Gta?. Note that Sora may reflect a vestige of the prefixal agreement system in its use of the prefixed [ə-] in the first plural exclusive. The third plural suffix of Proto-SM was preserved in Kharia, Juang and Proto-Sora-Gorum, (and its attested daughter languages). Otherwise, the subject prefixes were lost during the development of the other South Munda languages, replacing the areally marked prefixal agreement system with the more areally typical system of suffixal agreement. This was, at least in part, probably aided by the suffixally-marked third plural subject agreement already present in the South Munda languages (at least in the case of Kharia and Sora), as well as the order elements found in imperative constructions.ⁱⁱⁱ A list of South Munda subject markers may be found in Table-I.

	<u>1</u>	<u>1DLi</u>	<u>1DLe</u>	<u>1PLi</u>	<u>1PLe</u>	<u>2</u>
Kharia	-ñ/ŋ	-naŋ	-jar	-niŋ	-le	-m
Juang	-V ₁ -	ba-			nV ₍₁₎ -	mV ₍₁₎ -
Sora	-ay			-be	ə-...-ay	Ø , -m*
Gorum	ne-				le-	mo-
Gutob	-niŋ				-nei	-nom
Remo	-(n)iŋ	-naŋ			-nay	-no
Gta?	N̥-	ni-		næ/ne-	næʔ/neʔ-	na-
	<u>2DL</u>	<u>2PL</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3DL</u>	<u>3PL</u>	
Kharia	-bar	-pe	--	-ki-yar	-ki	
Juang	ha-	V ₁ -	--	-ki-a	-ki	
Sora		ə-...-ε	--		-ji	
Gorum		bo-	--		-gi	
Gutob		-pen	--		-nen	

Remo	-pa	-pe	--		
Gta?	pa-	pe-	--		-har-

TABLE-I: South Munda Referent Indexing: Subject

Examples of South Munda subject marking include the following:

(3) Juang (Matson 1964, Pinnow 1960-ms.)

<u>me-jɔ̄-ki-nĩ</u>	<u>n-ɔ̄n-de</u>	<u>ba-sɔ̄ŋ-a</u>
[2-'see'-PRES.II-1]	[1PL-'go'-PRES.I]	[1DL-'buy'-FUT.II]
'you see me'	'we go'	'we 2 will buy'

<u>jɔ̄:-k-ɔ̄m</u>	<u>te-me-le-nĩn</u>
['see'.1-PRES.II-2]	['push'-3FUT-'push'-1] ^{iv}
'I see you'	'he will push me'

(4) Gorum (Aze 1973)

<u>mo-taʔy-iŋ</u>	<u>ne-aʔy-t-om</u>
[2-'give'-1]	[1'splash'-NPAST-2]
'you gave me (money)'	'I will splash you'

(5) Remo (Fernandez 1968, 1983)

<u>way-t-iŋ</u>	<u>way-oʔ-niŋ</u>	<u>i-g-niŋ</u>	<u>sum-oʔ-no-ki</u>
['call'-NPAST-1]	['call'-PAST.II-1]	['return'-PAST.I-1]	['eat'-PAST.II-2-Q]
'I call'	'I called'	'I returned'	'did you eat?'

(6) Gutob (N. Zide 1997, field notes)

<u>suŋ-to-niŋ</u>	<u>suŋ-oʔ-nom</u>
['throw'-CUST-1]	['throw'-PAST.II-2]
'I throw'	'you threw'

(7) Gta? (K. Mahapatra et al. 1989)

<u>N-coŋ-ke</u>	<u>N-coŋ-ge</u>
[1-'eat'-ke]	[1-'eat'-PAST]
'I eat, ate'	'I ate'

2.2 Object Marking

The person and number of the verbal object were also indexed in Proto-South Munda through a series of object suffixes. The Proto-SM object suffixes were preserved in Juang, Sora and Gorum. Kharia and Proto-GRG lost the Proto-SM object suffixes. Not coincidentally, Kharia, Gutob and Remo make the most extensive use of subject suffixes among the attested South Munda languages. Note that these objects in Proto-SM were probably not simply direct objects, but 'primary' objects in the Dryer (1986) sense, i.e. direct objects with 2-argument transitive verbs and indirect objects (or primarily affected animate object) in 3-argument

transitives (ditransitives). 'Primary' object indexing is preserved in Juang and Gorum. This feature is common to many languages of the world (Anderson 1995).^v The South Munda object suffixes are listed in Table-II. Note that morphological encoding of object in the verbal word is not typical of the South Asian linguistic area (Masica 1976), being found, apart from both South and North Munda, in only a small number of so-called tribal Dravidian (Steever 1993) languages spoken in areas near the Munda languages, and in various Tibeto-Burman (e.g. Kiranti) languages and Burushaski at the periphery of the South Asian linguistic area.

	<u>1</u>	<u>1DL</u>	<u>1PL</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2DL</u>
Juang	-(ni)ñ	-ñ-ba	-nen-iñ	-(n)(o)m	-pa
Sora	-iñ	-ay	-lən/ŋ	-am/-əm	
Gorum	-iŋ		-ileŋ	-om	
	<u>2PL</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3DL</u>	<u>3PL</u>	
Juang	-pe	--	(-ki-a)	(-ki)	
Sora	-ben	-e		-ji	
Gorum	-iberŋ			(-gi)	

TABLE-II: South Munda Referent Indexing: Object

Sample forms of South Munda verbs object marking are offered below.

(8) Juang (Matson 1964, Pinnow 1960-ms.)

mε-jɔ-ki-ñ
[2-'see'-PRES.II-1]
'you see me'

jɔ:-k-ɔm
['see'.1-PRES.II-2]
'I see you'

tele-ɔ-ñ
['push'-PAST.II-1]
'he pushed me'

te-me-le-niñ
['push'-3FUT-'push'-1]
'he will push me'

(9) Sora (Ramamurti 1931)

(10) Gorum (Aze 1973)

uruŋ-l-iñ
['take'-PAST-1]
'(you) took me'

mo-taʔy-iŋ
[2-'give'-1]
'you gave me (money)'

an-uruŋ-l-am
[NEG-'take'-PAST-2]
'(I) didn't take you'

ne-aʔy-t-om
[1-'splash'-NPAST-2]
'I will splash you'

3 Tense-Aspect Marking

At least three tense-aspect markers can be safely reconstructed for (late) Proto-SM, possibly four. In the past, an intransitive PAST.I in and a transitive PAST.II were used, while these two classes may have been collapsed into a single non-past form (NPAST). Affixes specifically used in a future meaning are always innovations in Munda, and are either modal or participial in origin, although they may be old developments, e.g. the rise of the future forms in **-na* (FUT.I) and **-e* (FUT.II) in Kharia and Juang.

3.1 PAST

In early Proto-South Munda, following an apparent original split into Sora-Gorum, and a continuum consisting of Juang-Kharia-Gutob-Remo-Gta?, with a somewhat later split of Juang from the continuum (and a little later after that, of Gta?), the original Proto-Munda system became eroded and new contrasts arose. Specifically, two past suffixes came to be used, the intransitive PAST.I in **-ki* and the transitive PAST.II in **-oʔ*. These are preserved in Kharia, Gutob, and Remo, which seem to have undergone a period of common development, despite their current geographic disparity.^{vi} In Proto-Sora-Gorum, both affixes were lost, replaced by a single affix in **-le*, of aspectual origin, with parallels in North Munda--the **-le* Anterior suffix of Proto-North Munda, and Kherwarian [Anderson 1995-ms.]. In Juang, the PAST.II was preserved, as well as the older PAST.I (the suffix *-an*, with parallels in North Munda as well--the intransitive past of Proto-Kherwarian (and various modern Kherwarian languages).^{vii} In Gta?, the PAST.II was lost but the new PAST.I was preserved, with a number of idiosyncratic developments (Zide 1999). The non-past past in *-ke* lost its temporal association, historically a result of the collapse in Plains Gta? of the NPAST in **-tV* and the ancestor of the Remo *-ki* perfect(ive). In Hill Gta?, the collapse involved the **t-* initial allomorph of the original non-past (i.e. *-ti*); Unfortunately, the paucity of Hill Gta? data leaves us with a situation that is far from sufficient for a more complete analysis of the Proto-Gta? tense-aspect system. Examples of South Munda past forms include the following:

- (11) Kharia (Malhotra 1982, Biligiri 1965a)
- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| <u>ob-ñoʔ-oʔ</u> | <u>gitag-ki-moy</u> | <u>kui-ki</u> |
| [CAUS-'eat'-PAST.II] | ['sleep'-PAST.I-3PL] | ['find'-PAST.I] |
| 'she fed' | 'they slept' | 'was found' |

- Juang (B. Mahapatra 1976)
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| <u>kedab-ɔ</u> | <u>gitu-an</u> |
| ['bite'-PAST.II] | ['sing'-PAST.I] |
| 'he bit' | 'she sang' |

(12) Gutob (N. Zide, field notes)
ser-gu som-o?
 ['sing'-PAST.I] ['eat'-PAST.II]
 's/he sang' 's/he ate'

Remo (Bhattacharya 1968)
gay-g-niŋ bad-o?-niŋ
 ['enter'-PAST.I-1] ['slap'-PAST.II-1]
 'I entered' 'I slapped'

(13) Gta? (K. Mahapatra et al. 1989)
N-con-ge
 [1-'eat'-PAST]
 'I ate'

N-con-ke
 [1-'eat'-ke]
 'I ate'

(14) Sora (Ramamurti 1931)
giŋ-I-iŋ
 ['see'-PAST-1]
 'I was seen'

Gorum (Aze 1973)
kapi e-niŋ tagu-r-iŋ-ay
 ['coffee'] [OBJ-1] ['burn'-PAST-1-CL/1]
 'coffee burnt me'

3.2 Non-Past [NPAST]

In contrast to the past system of late Proto-South Munda, where two markers--differentiated for transitivity--are safely reconstructible, the nonpast [NPAST] system does not permit such a sound reconstruction. However, all South Munda languages show some reflex of the Proto-SM NPAST in **-tV*, with North Munda parallels, suggesting a retention of a Proto-Munda suffix. Remo, Kharia, and possibly Sora as well suggest that two **t-* initial affixes--with differing vocalism--may have been present at the PSM level, although this remains to be demonstrated. In Juang and Plains Gta?, a **k-* initial allomorph was found, as mentioned above with respect to Gta?.^{viii} This **t-**k correspondence in intransitive/present markers has parallels in (Proto-)North Munda as well (e.g. the Mundari-Santali tan : kan correspondence). Examples of the South Munda NPAST marking include

(15) Remo (Bhattacharya 1968)
bɔp-t-iŋ
 ['head'-NPAST.II-1]
 'I shall make him head (of a village)'

goy-ta
 ['die'-NPAST.I]
 's/he will die'

(16) Gutob (N. Zide, field notes)
ser-loŋ
 ['sing'-FUT]
 'will sing'

ser-to
 ['sing'-CUST]
 'sings'

(17) Kharia (Malhotra 1982, Biligiri 1965a)
gitag-na gitag-ta-ñ
 ['sleep'-FUT.I] ['sleep'-PRES.I-1]
 'she will sleep' 'I sleep'

um-yo?-ta
 [NEG-'see'-PRES.I]
 'are not seen'

(18) Sora (Ramamurti 1931, Starosta 1967, Biligiri 1965b)

kuŋ-bəb-tɛ

['shave'-'head'-NPAST.II]
'you shave (s.o.'s) head'

kuŋ-bəb-tɛ-n

['shave'-'head'-NPAST.I-INTR]
'(you) shave (your) head'

ɔ-gij-t-iñ

[2PL-'see'-NPAST.II-1]
'y'all will see me'

(19) Gorum (A. Zide field notes, Aze 1973)

miŋ ne-i-tuʔ

['I] [1-'go'-NPAST]
'I'll go'

mo-taʔy-t-iŋ

[2SUBJ-'give'-NPAST-1OBJ]
'you will give (it) to me'

ne-laʔ-tuʔ

[1-'hit'-NPAST]
'I'll hit (myself)'

	<u>Kharia</u>	<u>Juang</u>	<u>Gutob</u>	<u>Remo</u>
PAST.I	-ki	-an	-gu. -gi	-gi, -ga
PAST.II	-ogʔ	-ɔ	-ɔʔ	-ɔʔ
NPAST.I	-ta	-ɖe	-to [CUST]	-te ~ -ta
NPAST.II	-te	-ke	-to [CUST]	-to
FUT.I	-na	-na	-loŋ	
FUT.II	-e	-e	-tu	
	<u>Gtaʔ</u>	<u>Sora</u>	<u>Gorum</u>	
PAST.I	-ge/-ke	-le	-rV	
PAST.II	-ge/-ke	-le	-rV	
NPAST.I	(-ke)	-te (~ -tɛ)	-tV	
NPAST.II	(-ke)	-tɛ ~ (-te)	-tV	
FUT	+e			

TABLE-III: South Munda Tense/Aspect Marking

4 A history of verb morphology in South Munda

The verb in Proto-South Munda indexed a wide range of categories morphologically. These include sets of subject prefixes, object suffixes, and at least three different tense(-aspect) suffixes. These constituted, along with the negative and various modal and non-finite elements not addressed here, the inflectional core of the Proto-South Munda verbal system.

Contrary to what one might expect if Koraput Munda existed as a viable sub-group within South Munda and not just a later areal grouping as proposed in the present work, there are no isoglosses linking explicitly Proto-Sora-Gorum and Proto-Gutob-Remo-Gtaʔ. In fact, either each of the subgroups has gone its own way with respect to the developments of the core inflectional categories, or all three pattern together, or even more surprising in the face of an ostensible (Proto-)Koraput Munda genetic unit, there are

isoglosses/correspondences between Juang and Proto-Sora-Gorum, or, between Juang and Gta?, and particularly, between Proto-Gutob-Remo and Kharia (or Proto-Gutob-Remo--Gta? and Kharia), but none between Proto-Sora-Gorum and Proto-Gutob-Remo-Gta?.

One possible solution is as follows: Proto-South Munda and Proto-Munda seem to be very close, and Proto-Sora-Gorum seems to have split off at a quite early date. This left pre-Proto-Juang, Proto-Kharia and Proto-Gutob-Remo and Proto-Gta? in a South Munda dialect/language continuum, both ends of which shared a range of structural innovations to be discussed below, with Proto-Juang and Proto-Gta? going off on their own developmental path rather early, in that order.

Proto-Sora-Gorum split off at a very early time, preserving the subject prefixes, object suffixes, and the **-tV* non-past. Also, PSG lost the (transitive) past in **-o?* and preserved the older Proto-Munda tense/aspect marker in **-le*, which became generalized as the unmarked past. Subsequently, the subject prefixes were mostly lost in Sora.

Juang split off from PSM early enough to preserve the old (intransitive) past in **-an/*-en* (seen also in Proto-North Munda). Juang is quite archaic in numerous respects morphologically, preserving the subject prefixes and object suffixes, as well as the original opposition of past tense markers.

Kharia on the other hand lost both the subject prefixes and the object suffixes, innovating in their place a series of enclitic subject pronominals and an intransitive past in **-ki*, possibly from earlier **-ki*.

In Proto-Gutob-Remo and Proto-Gta?, the PSM object suffixes were lost. Proto-Gutob-Remo, exactly like Kharia, lost the subject prefixes and innovated in their place a set of enclitic subject pronominals and an intransitive past tense in **-gi*.

In Proto-Gta?, as in PSG, the past in **-o?* was lost as was the whole SM transitive and intransitive inflectional dichotomy. Only the later SM 'intransitive' past as the past in **-ki* (cf. pre-Kharia *(*)-ki* and PGR **-gi*) The subject prefixes were preserved in Proto-Gta?, however (and modern Gta? as well).

The whole set of innovated structural correspondences between PGR and Kharia are indeed striking, and suggest that these two groups must have undergone a period of common development within some kind of later South-Munda continuum.

In fact, Proto-Gutob-Remo has more in common with Kharia than with Gta? with regard to the treatment of the referent indexing and tense-aspect system. How can this be explained in the face of obvious shared morphological and phonological innovations between Kharia and Juang on the one hand and Gutob-Remo and Gta? on the other, and the seemingly sound nature of these two subgroups within the South Munda branch of the Munda language family? A rigid adherence to the Stammbaum model of language relationships will necessarily fail in light of this evidence. Kharia appears simultaneously to belong with Juang and Gutob-Remo in a special subgroup, while Gta? suggests close relation with only Gutob-Remo (and at an earlier period, possibly with Juang as well) but not really Kharia.

The Gutob-Remo and *Gtaʔ* correspondences, the *Gtaʔ*-Juang correspondences and the Gutob-Remo-Kharia correspondences can be accounted for by a proto-language dialect/language continuum that allowed for shared structural innovations between adjacent languages. Thus we find the innovation of the future forms and the perfect marker in Kharia and Juang, the opposition of **-na* different subject and **-ci(?)* same subject in Gutob-Remo and *Gtaʔ*, the preservation of subject prefixes and the *k*-initial allomorph of the non-past in Juang and *Gtaʔ*, the loss of object suffixes and innovation of **ki* as a past marker in Kharia and Gutob-Remo and *Gtaʔ*, and the innovation of subject suffixes and specialization of the **-ki* past as an intransitive past in Kharia and Gutob-Remo. There are therefore three models for explaining the phenomena discussed above.

Scenario 1 The Ancient Continuum scenario: Proto-South Munda split into Proto-Sora-Gorum, Proto--Juang-Kharia-Gutob-Remo-*Gtaʔ*. Proto-Sora-Gorum among other features innovated the anterior aspect marker in **-le* as the unmarked past. Sora and Gorum subsequently split into two distinct languages in a fairly straightforward manner, Gorum preserving the original PSM subject prefixes, pre-Sora later splitting into Sora proper and Juray. Juang split off from the early to mid-level Proto-South Munda continuum relatively early and moved away from the later middle PSM or Kharia-GRG continuum. Juang preserved both the object suffixes and subject prefixes, as well as the original intransitive past, having already innovated (with Kharia) the future-I and future-II markers and the perfect aspect marker. *Gtaʔ*, on the other end of the continuum, split off from Proto-Gutob-Remo (and by extension Proto-Kharia as well) at a mid-level Proto-period, although later than the splitting of Juang. *Gtaʔ* preserves the subject prefixes, but like Kharia and Gutob-Remo, lost object marking and innovated the past in **-ki*, grammaticalizing in tense functions an older aspectual marker cognate with the Proto-North Munda 'completive'. *Gtaʔ* lost the whole transitive/intransitive inflectional dichotomy and, in particular, the old transitive past in **-oʔ*. Following this period, there remained a group consisting of Proto-Kharia and Proto-Gutob-Remo which lost the subject prefixes and innovated in their place a series of enclitic subject markers and specialized the **ki* past as an intransitive past.

The second scenario: the Borrowing Scenario. This involves borrowing from either Proto-Kharia of the **-ki* <intransitive> past into Proto-Gutob-Remo-*Gtaʔ* (and its subsequent specialization to only intransitive past in Kharia and Proto-Gutob-Remo), and the enclitic subject series into Proto-Gutob-Remo or from Proto-Gutob-Remo-(*Gtaʔ*) into Proto-Kharia. Neither the fact that borrowing of these features is the cause of these parallels among the South Munda languages nor the directionality of the changes can be proven one way or another, though the possibility remains open.

The third scenario: the Chance Correspondence Scenario. This scenario suggests that the aforementioned correspondences and developments are false cognates, rather they represent mere parallel innovations and thus have no historical reality in the sense that they go back to an earlier, reconstructed linguistic state. In the case of the innovation of subject enclitics, this is certainly a possible scenario. This is less likely in the specialization of the

*k_i past as an intransitive past, as this is a relatively precise correspondence and suggests either shared innovation or borrowing, not a chance correspondence.

South Munda now is thought of as having emerged in the following way: Proto-Munda speakers split into two groups at a fairly early state, North Munda and South Munda. North Munda went through a long period of relatively minimal diversification until splitting into the well-established Korku and Kherwarian subgroups. Proto-Sora-Gorum split very early from the remaining Proto-South Munda groups, and left behind a continuum consisting of Proto-Juang, Proto-Kharia, Proto-Gutob-Remo and Proto-Gta?. The two peripheral and early differentiated from the core (late) Proto-South Munda languages, Juang and Gta? share certain parallel archaisms, e.g. preservation of subject prefixes and the *k-initial allomorph of the present (also seen in North Munda Santali). Each aforementioned proto-language group shared significant structural innovations with the one to the right, hence the traditional subgroups given in (1) and (2) above. For example, Kharia and Juang share the future in *-e and *-na, and the perfect in *-sI'd. Gutob-Remo and Gta? share the switch reference opposition of *-č_i(?) same subject, *-na different subject. Gutob-Remo and Gta? share with Kharia both the innovation of the completive aspect marker as a tense marker, later specialized in Proto-Gutob-Remo and Proto-Kharia as an intransitive past marker, as well as loss of object marking in the verb. The last two mentioned languages share, in addition to this specialization of *-k_i as an intransitive past marker, the loss the subject prefixes and their replacement by a set of enclitic pronouns. Unfortunately, resolving these important and challenging issues in the subgrouping and development of the South Munda languages must await a significantly more thorough and comprehensive treatment of comparative Munda phonology, morphology, and lexicon. It is hoped that this brief communication has helped stimulate further research in these areas.

South Munda

Proto-Sora-Gorum

Proto- Juang

↔ Proto-Gta?

↔ Proto- Kharia ↔ Proto-Gutob-Remo

Sora Gorum Juang

Kharia

Gutob Remo

Plains Gta? Hill Gta?

	SUBJ.PFX	OBJ.SFX	SUBJ.ENCL	* <u>k_i</u> PAST	* <u>k_i</u> PAST.I	PAST.II	* <u>k</u> -NPAST	* <u>t</u> -NPAST
Gorum	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Sora	-	+	-/+	-	-	-	-	+
Juang	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+?
Kharia	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
Gutob	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
Remo	-	-	+	+	+	+	-(+?) ^{ix}	+

Plains Gta?	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Hill Gta?	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

TABLE-IV: Proto-South Munda Subject/Object and Tense/Aspect Features in the SM

SUBJ.PFX	Gorum, Juang, Gta?
OBJ.SFX	Juang, Gorum, Sora
SUBJ.ENCL	Kharia, Gutob, Remo
*ki-PAST	Kharia, Gutob, Remo, Gta?
*gi PAST	Gutob, Remo, Gta?
*ki-PAST.I	Kharia, Gutob, Remo
*o? PAST.II	Juang, Kharia, Gutob, Remo,
*t-NPAST	Gorum, Sora, Kharia, Gutob, Remo, Hill Gta?
*k-NPAST	Juang, Plains Gta?
*e/*na FUT	Juang, Kharia (Gta? *e?)

TABLE-V: Shared Features among the South Munda Languages

Abbreviations Used:

AUX	Auxiliary	BEN	Benefactive	CAUS	Causative
CL	Cislocative	CMPL	Completive	CONT	Continuative
CUST	Customary	DESID	Desiderative	DL	Dual
e	exclusive	i	inclusive	I	Intransitive
MOD	Modal	N	syllabic nasal	NEG	Negative
NF	Non-Finite	NPAST	Non-past	OBJ	Object
OPT	Optative	PASS	Passive	PERF	Perfect(ive)
PHB	Prohibitive	PL	Plural	POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present	Q	Interrogative	R.	Reduplicated
RECIP	Reciprocal	RFLXV	Reflexive	TLOC	Translocative
1	first person	2	second person	3	third person

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FOOTNOTES

ⁱ The South Munda [SM] languages [together with the North Munda (Kherwarian and Korku) languages] constitute the westernmost of group of Austroasiatic language family. The SM languages are spoken by around 600,000 total speakers predominantly in the eastern Indian states of Orissa and Bihar; the SM-speaking populations range in size from 300,000 for Sora and 150,000 for Kharia to fewer than 5,000 for Gta? and Remo, possibly as low as several hundred fluent speakers.

ⁱⁱ However, it is clearly not the case, as Donegan & Stampe (1983) and Donegan (1993) imply, that a shift to SOV syntax and the concomitant 'rhythmic holism' of languages in general caused a shift from a radically isolating structure that supposedly characterized Austroasiatic (and is indeed true of the majority of modern Austroasiatic languages) to the complex morphology of the Munda languages. Both South Munda and North Munda exhibit a large degree of morphological complexity, and a number of these features must be reconstructed back to Proto-Munda. Among the troubling aspects of Donegan & Stampe's claims is that the specific features and realizations thereof contrast with areal norms (cf. Masica 1976), and thus diffusion is not the most likely explanation for these phenomena, but rather, they seem to be old features in the Munda languages.

- ⁱⁱⁱ Note that all agreement markers were probably lost in Proto-Gutob-Remo (and Proto-Kharia), replaced by a set of originally enclitic pronouns. Object suffixes had already been lost by the Proto-GRG stage, see below.
- ^{iv} Note that in the third person singular in the future, the latter uncharacteristically left unmarked, there is overt marking of the third singular subject, through the use of infix -mV-. This infixation has no parallels to other phenomena in South Munda, although the formant itself is probably cognate with the GRG third singular pronoun.
- ^v Thus, the development in Gorum of 'possessor-raising' constructions is an understandable development, where the person and number of the possessor of the logical object are indexed as the object, rather than the logical object itself. The possessor in these formations represents the most affected animate participant, and therefore the referent most suited to being indexed as the object. Similar phenomena are known from languages across the world (cf. Anderson 1995, 1997), where ditransitive objects and possessors pattern together as the object indexed in the verbal complex.
- ^{vi} In addition to preserving the late Proto-South Munda contrast of PAST.I and PAST.II, they innovated a series of enclitic subject markers, having lost the original subject prefixes and object suffixes.
- ^{vii} It is therefore possible, then, that the Juang form is actually an old form retained in this generally highly archaic language. Note that the PAST.II of Proto-SM corresponds to the Proto-North Munda [NM] transitive past marker in *-ed. It is therefore possible that this may be the oldest Proto-Munda system, reflected in Proto-NM and Juang, and thus perhaps the earliest form

of Proto-SM as well. The later PAST.I of Proto-SM was innovated in a core group that included pre-Kharia dialects and Proto-Gutob-Remo-Gta?

viii It is also possible that the Juang system is again the archaic system, with -de the NPAST.I (although this does not necessarily appear to be cognate with Kharia -ta and and Remo -te/-ta), suggesting PSM *-ta/e. Under this scenario, Proto-South Munda *t/ke would then be the NPAST.II in -ke in Juang, the NPAST.II -te in Kharia and the Plains Gta? -ke NPAST (or anti-GE [Zide 1999]). The NPAST.II received *-o- vocalism in Proto-Gutob-Remo, on analogy with the PAST.II in *-o?. This was later specialized in a customary future meaning in Gutob, where only the reduplicated present remained—to be sure an old feature, with parallels in other Austroasiatic languages. Proto-Gta? would then have lost the NPAST.I and the intransitive/transitive distinction altogether (cf. the PAST above).

ix Note that the Remo perfect compound suffix may have the *k-non past marker in it.